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Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales: Ambiguous Identities of
Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England

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JEWS, SPANIARDS, AND PORTINGALES:
AMBIGUOUS IDENTITIES OF PORTUGUESE
MARRANOS IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

BY EDMUND VALENTINE CAMPOS

[Shakespeare] drew Shylock out of his own long pocket. . . . All events brought grist to his mill. Shylock chimes with the jewbaiting that followed the hanging and quartering of the queen's leech Lopez, his Jew's heart being plucked forth while the sheeny was yet alive.

—James Joyce, *Ulysses*

Could Elizabethan playgoers attend a performance of *The Merchant of Venice* (1596–1597) without recalling the bloody execution of the Queen's Jewish physician Roderigo Lopez? In 1594 Lopez, a Portuguese émigré, was indicted for conspiring with Spain to assassinate Elizabeth I, and after a tumultuous and prolonged trial he was publicly executed in the manner of traitors. In the wake of Lopez's death plays about Jews enjoyed a morbid popularity. Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1590) returned to the stage to profit from the anti-Semitism raised by the gruesome gallows scene, and two years after the event Shakespeare invented Shylock. The temporal proximity of the Tyburn spectacle to the writing of Shakespeare's play led Sidney Lee in 1880 to suggest that the Jewish doctor furnished the playwright with the prototype for Shylock, the assumption being that Lopez was the only contemporary, famous, and villainous Jew available to Shakespeare's literary imagination.¹ Since the publication of Lee's Lopez/Shylock theory it has been virtually unthinkable to investigate what has come to be known as the Jewish question in early modern England without considering the historical and cultural importance of the Lopez controversy. To be true, the scandal is helpful for understanding some aspects of Elizabethan anti-Semitism. At the same time, however, Lee's argument lacks the strong textual evidence necessary to definitively map Lopez onto Shylock.² Nevertheless, the specter of Lopez restlessly haunts nearly all modern editions of the play. The troubled legacy of Lee's topical

approach is that subsequent criticism tends to foreground Lopez's religious affiliation at the expense of other constituent factors of his profile.³ For example, what Joyce's speculative meditation on Shakespeare's creative process omits in the above quotation is that Lopez was not only a Jew, but a foreign Portuguese outsider and the central figure of a major Anglo-Spanish conspiracy to assassinate the Queen.

One finds no mention of Lopez's Jewish affiliations in the official state account of the plot recorded by Lord Burghley in *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies*. Burghley classifies him simply as a "Portingale."⁴ Clearly, for a Protestant government intent on drumming up anti-Spanish propaganda it was more advantageous to play up the political angle rather than the Jewish one. This is evident in Burghley's inclusion in the very same tract of an account of the Yorke-Williams plot—a conspiracy to murder the Queen by Jesuits in league with Spain. Following Burghley's lead, I will be looking at early modern English Jewry from a political perspective by situating it within an Anglo-Spanish context fraught with national, economic, and racial antagonisms. In doing so I do not discount the effects that the trial and death of Lopez may have had upon the question of English Jewry; rather, I wish to show that one cannot pose the Jewish question in Renaissance England without posing the Spanish question as well. Moreover, my intention is not to ignore the work of scholars devoted to exploring early modern anti-Semitism, but to show that inquiries narrowly focused on theology run the risk of overlooking pertinent issues of race and nationality—categories that the early modern Jew in England both occupies and destabilizes. To broaden and reformulate my leading question: could Elizabethan playgoers regard Jewish characters on the late sixteenth-century stage without recalling the spectacular execution of the Queen's Portuguese physician Roderigo Lopez?

In his landmark essay "Elizabethans and Foreigners," G. K. Hunter upholds Lee's topical assertion with a theological interpretation. For Hunter, Lopez's religious identity overshadows his status as a foreigner. He points to William Camden's account of the execution in which Lopez is sent to death affirming that "he loved the Queen as well as he loved Jesus Christ, which coming from a man of the Jewish profession moved no small laughter in the standers-by."⁵ According to Hunter, the key to reading this scene of execution is the medieval *Sacrament Play of Croxton*, in which the wealthy Jew Jonathas ritually re-enacts the great Jewish crime of the murder of Christ with

a consecrated communion wafer. Lopez's alleged murder attempt, then, is merely another rehearsal of this ultimate heretical crime of religious betrayal—only this time the victim is the Queen. This theological interpretation, however, ignores the double irony which brought the Tyburn audience to laughter: the unlikelihood of a Jew swearing his love for Jesus Christ, *and* the unlikelihood of a Spanish agent swearing his love for the Queen of England. The use of Croxton's play as a subtext results in an overdetermined perception of Jews that ignores the political effects that the Iberian Jewish diaspora may have had on the apprehension of Jews in general. Moreover, Hunter's theological hermeneutic renders Shakespeare and his contemporaries passive receivers of medieval theological traditions. It saves Renaissance playwrights from racism by positing an Elizabethan attitude towards Jews grounded in a dichotomous religious framework of Christian versus Infidel. It is this religious binary that Hunter brings to his reading of Shakespeare's play: "Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* treats its Italians as Christians (though merchants) and therefore 'like us.' For the opposition is with a figure who stands outside Christianity altogether, and whose commercial practice is seen as a part of his religious attitude: legalistic, obdurate, revengeful. In sixteenth-century England the threat of the infidel outsider still had the general effect of stilling internal European oppositions and stressing the unity of Christendom."⁶

Recent approaches to early modern race and religion have challenged Hunter's Infidel/Christian division by illustrating that groups on both sides of the theological divide are subject to fractional racialization. Studies on the black Moor by Kim Hall and Ania Loomba, for example, show how the Renaissance aesthetic discourse of black (foul) and white (fair) sheds its apolitical status to become a racist discourse of exploitation and oppression.⁷ But white Europeans can also be subject to a form of inter-Christian racialization. As Lynda Boose suggests, Hunter's idea of the "unity of Christendom" is undermined by asking if European nations participated in a notion of shared Europeanness.⁸ The question is particularly appropriate for an era in which the English considered the Irish, for instance, to be a savage race apart.

The case of Ireland is an example of racism rooted in national and cultural differences rather than phenotypic or religious ones, and it is helpful for understanding Elizabethan attitudes towards Jews since, unlike the Moor, the Jew can "pass" as a white European. National origin, then, plays a large role in anti-Semitic racism since the Jews

most likely to be encountered in England were Iberian refugees. Hence, I would argue that some aspects of English anti-Semitism can be interpreted as transposed anti-Hispanic racism. At times, both prejudices could be mutually referential and prone to conflation despite the fact that the official religion of the Iberian Peninsula was relentlessly Catholic. This inward collapse of national and religious identities was enabled by Jewish self-identificatory practices and by confused Elizabethan notions regarding the murky political and economic relationship between Spain and Portugal.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, when Portia, disguised as Doctor Balthazar, enters the courtroom and asks, “Which is the merchant here and which the Jew?” she points to the general difficulty of identifying Jews in the sixteenth century.⁹ Her inability to distinguish between Antonio and Shylock may seem odd or playfully stacy in the setting of Shakespeare’s Venice, where Jews maintain a public religious identity, as Shylock’s Jewish gabardine suggests.¹⁰ However, in Iberian contexts, her question performs an inquisitorial function bent on ferreting out Crypto-Jews or *marranos*—those who publicly professed Christianity while privately adhering to their original faith and its practices.

Under threat of expulsion and persecution, thousands of Spanish Jews submitted to baptism during the Spanish *reconquista*. While the ostensible goal of forced baptism was to bring infidels within the pale of the Catholic Church, the procedure simultaneously fostered a strong racial and racist discourse by contributing to the Spanish ideology of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood). The desire for Spaniards to trace their ancestry to Old Christian stock rather than to the bloodlines of recent converts illustrates how, despite the superficial equalizing effect of Christian baptism, religious difference was recast in a racist framework.¹¹ In his recent investigation of modern forms of racism, Etienne Balibar traces current forms of racism to early modern anti-Semitism in Spain. He considers it to be a proto-racism grounded in cultural differences (such as the avoidance of pork) rather than one grounded in perceived biological ones. The arrival of exiled Spanish and Portuguese *marranos* in England complicated this conception of cultural racism by patinating it with a national bias.¹²

In 1598, John Florio’s popular English language dictionary defined the term *marrano* in the following terms: “A Jew, an infidel, a renegado. A nickname for a Spaniard.” Given that Spain loomed largely as a threatening Catholic power in the English political

imagination, it is surprising that Florio's definition offers "Jew" and "Spaniard" as explanatory synonyms. Perhaps more surprising is that the entry does not allow for the possibility of a Portuguese *marrano* despite the fact that the members of the small community of Crypto-Jews living in London were virtually all of Portuguese origin. This telling omission is symptomatic of a common elision between Spanish and Portuguese identities. For instance, many of Lopez's English contemporaries, including his colleagues in the College of Physicians, repeatedly miscategorized him as a Spaniard. On a political level, the conceptual borders dividing Spain and Portugal became harder to trace when Phillip II annexed the neighboring nation in 1580, thereby making the kingdom a part of the Spanish empire. From the perspective of England, then, Portugal dwelt in the cultural shadow of Spain, and it is this hispanicization of the nation and its people that characterizes Elizabethan attitudes towards the *marranos* encountered on English soil.

POLITICS

Portuguese *marrano* immigration to foreign lands was driven by the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1537–1540. Many fled to Turkey and Africa; still others fled to Holland, where New Christians were allowed to settle by order of Charles V. Small numbers of Jews stopped in England en route to the Netherlands and remained there, exchanging their nominal Catholicism for nominal Protestantism. For the most part their Crypto-Judaism was an open secret that permitted them to pursue quiet lives as merchants and traders.¹³ Indeed, by Elizabeth's time many Jews enthusiastically supported the Protestant war against Spain out of resentment over the Spanish takeover of their native land. The aftereffects of Portugal's annexation played a large role in the way that Lopez and his local coreligionists were perceived by their host nation. Their status as foreigners in large part framed them as ambivalent intermediaries between the warring nations of England and Spain.

The central Portuguese figure in Elizabeth's war with Philip was Lopez's illustrious kinsman, Dom Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender. When Dom Henry, the "Cardinal King," died in 1580 leaving no heirs to the Portuguese throne, Dom Antonio, the Prior of Crato, exerted his right to the crown. Philip too had a legitimate claim to the throne and, moreover, an army to back it up. Portugal was annexed to the Spanish empire, and Dom Antonio repaired to England to seek support among Philip's enemies. The English victory over the Armada in 1588

gave the Portuguese Pretender hope of recovering the crown. His cause was championed by Protestant heroes like Sir Francis Drake and Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, while the merchant *marranos* of London lent their economic and political support by providing funds and strategic information. *Marrano* ties to their homeland made them ideal intelligencers. Indeed, respected Portuguese Jews like Lopez and his business associate Dunstan Añes advised Elizabeth on foreign policy at the height of the Anglo-Spanish war.¹⁴ With Lopez plying his kinsman's case in the Queen's ear, Antonio's chance finally arrived in 1589 when the Queen granted Drake and John Norris a patent to launch an attack upon Lisbon.

The Queen's main objective was to see the surviving ships from the Armada battle burned in Lisbon's harbor. The loss of these ships would leave the Indies treasure fleet unprotected and prone to English privateers. When in mid-mission, it was discovered that the retreating Armada ships had been unable to put in at Lisbon and instead had docked at the Northern Spanish port of Santander, the objectives of Elizabeth and her captains grew completely at odds. Drake and Norris wanted to see Antonio restored to the throne. They were supported in this by the financial backers of the expedition who saw little immediate gain in attacking warships at Santander; they wanted the English to raid the rich port of Lisbon. The invasion of Portugal was, after all, a joint-stock enterprise motivated by profit as much as by politics.

To the annoyance of the Queen, her sailors launched a feeble attack upon Lisbon. The expedition was an utter failure. When after much hardship and gratuitous looting the English had finally reached the walls of the city, they lacked sufficient force to take the walls. To make matters worse, when Antonio announced his homecoming, he was greeted with something less than enthusiasm. The Portuguese may have been upset over the imposition of Spanish rule, but they were certainly not moved to rebellion by the looting of their English "liberators." The expedition returned home much poorer than when it had started.¹⁵

The behavior of the English adventurers exposes an important fact about England's relationship to Portugal: while England was willing to pay lip service to the liberation of Portugal, the looting perpetrated by English soldiers reveals that it was more interested in the nation's money than in its oppression by Spain. A corresponding sentiment was current at sea as well. Given the chance, English privateers would just as soon seize a Portuguese galleon as a Spanish one.¹⁶

When profit was to be had, there was simply little distinction. In one calendered letter of Elizabeth about Drake's raid on the Spanish coast in 1587, she writes: "by order of her Majesty Sir Francis Drake in this present exploit against Spain doth set free all Portugals with money in their purses which come into their hands, where he selleth the Spaniard to the Moors."¹⁷ One wonders what became of those Portuguese unfortunate enough to be without a ready ransom purse.

The political and economic failure of the Portuguese expedition marked the end of Antonio's English political career and the beginning of Lopez's personal tragedy. Although the question of Lopez's guilt or innocence is the subject of much historical debate, it is an issue too expansive to include here.¹⁸ My interests lie in the way the plot to assassinate the Queen, and Lopez's alleged involvement in it, blur the political borders between Spanish and Portuguese national identities.

In 1593 the spy net of the Earl of Essex, the leader of the anti-Spanish party at court, intercepted letters by two of Lopez's countrymen, Esteban Ferrera de Gama and Manuel Luis Tinoco. The communications touched upon a Spanish plot to assassinate Dom Antonio. The Portuguese spies were apprehended and forced to confess Lopez's involvement in the plan. Essex jumped to conclusions and had Lopez arrested on charges of trying to kill the Queen. When Essex proudly reported his actions to Elizabeth he was rebuked. To be true, there was very little evidence to go on. Nevertheless, over the next few weeks Essex interrogated Tinoco and de Gama, and after much persuasion they confessed Lopez's complicity in the affair. Upon further pressing, Lopez too finally confessed that he had been promised money by Philip if he would poison the Queen. Lopez maintained, however, that he was merely stringing Spain along so that he could cozen the king out of a large sum of money that he would then bestow upon the Queen. Shortly thereafter, Lopez and his two associates were executed in the manner of traitors. In a trial where everyone was a double agent, it was difficult for even juror Edward Coke to keep the lines clear between Portuguese and Spanish intentions. His calendered notes on the trial provide a concise sense of the confusion:

that England is a bulwark against tyranny, that this Stephano Ferrera de Gama first came to England with his distressed King, Don Antonio, who was received and maintained by the Queen, but when he found Antonio's favor declining, he was wrought on by the

King of Spain to be false. The gratitude of Portugal was shown by sending over Dr. Lopez to murder the Queen. Portugal has now been with the King of Spain, now with Dom Antonio against him, then with him against Dom Antonio.¹⁹

In 1624 George Carleton, a doctor of divinity, remembered the Lopez trial in a historical treatise called *A Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie. In an Historicall Collection of the Great and Mercifull Deliverances of the Church and State of England*. He believed that the use of Portuguese agents in a plot to kill the Queen was a calculated move on behalf of Philip to soil the national reputation of Portugal: "For none but Portugals were used in this business, and that was not done without great mystery. For the King of Spaine with one stone would give two strokes. If the practice should be discovered, it would be a riddance of so many Portugals, and make that nation more odious to the Queene Elizabeth."²⁰

To state the obvious, the Lopez plot was not perceived as a Jewish conspiracy. Instead, it was the proof of Spanish treachery. That Lopez was a member of a stigmatized religious group certainly had some bearing in the case against him. However, his Jewishness was only important insofar as he was an *Iberian Jew*—a distinction which allowed perceived Jewish traits to be elided with Spanish ones. To illustrate this point, Carleton's chapter dealing with Lopez includes an engraving depicting the doctor dressed in academic robes and negotiating with an agent of Spain. Unmindful of the available historical facts, the engraver chose to portray Lopez's coconspirator not as a Portuguese spy, but as a stereotypical Spanish one, complete with Spanish cape, gloves, ruff and tell-tale Spanish moustache (see fig. 1). Essentially, Carleton situates Lopez's treachery within a Catholic history of assaults upon England. As a result, Carleton locates poisoning—Lopez's alleged method of assassination—within a specifically Catholic tradition: "This practice of poysoning . . . was brought into the Church by Popes, and reckoned among the sinnes of the Antichristian Synagogue, and taught by Doctrine by the Romish Rabbis."²¹ This is a particularly curious gesture since in anti-Semitic tradition poisoning is a typical Jewish evil mentioned, for example, as one of Barabas's gratuitous crimes in *The Jew of Malta*.²²

To be true to the ghost of Dr. Lopez and to the representation of Jews on the Renaissance stage we must begin to consider seriously the implications of Carleton's discordant and utterly confused term, "Romish Rabbis." If Jews and Catholics can be construed as one and



Figure 1. Lopez and an Iberian coconspirator. This item is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

the same through the distorting lens of Protestant politics, the project of unearthing the history of the Renaissance Jewish *other* must be accompanied by a parallel project that seeks to measure the influence of Spanish politics on the production of English texts. Understanding Portuguese *marranos* in England as foreigners allied with Spain in the popular imagination reveals an Hispanic glamour limning the representation of the Jew at the end of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the same destabilization of Jewish national identity that occurs along political lines finds its counterpart in the economic realm, and it is here where the theatrical representation of the Jew enters the Jewish-Spanish question.

COMMERCE AND MISCEGENATION

The same Iberian connections that made London *marranos* ideal intelligencers for the English government also had the effect of

making them objects of cultural resentment, for these same lines of information served them doubly as commercial links. The multiple trajectories of the Iberian diaspora had strung a network of trade and information lines linking diasporic Jewish communities in London, Antwerp, Constantinople, and Lisbon for the distribution of products from the Levant and the East and West Indies that accumulated in the entrepôts of Iberian ports. Lopez's father-in-law, Dunstan Añes, for example, was the leader of a prominent merchant family with ties to Antwerp and Lisbon which managed a London counting house for the traffic of exotic goods.²³ While a few English investors were able to tap into the *marrano* trade network, English merchants on the whole enjoyed no such advantage.²⁴

No English citizen was allowed to trade with the Iberian Peninsula. Spain had imposed a trade embargo against England in 1585 in hopes of pressuring Elizabeth to cease her support for the Dutch rebellion. England responded with a counterembargo, and by 1586 the Spanish Company for the trade in wool ceased to function, with many of its members turned to the more lucrative practice of raiding Spanish treasure ships to recuperate their losses. Jews, however, were able to bypass the embargo. This was cause for consternation for both England and its imperial rival. Lucien Wolf, in his study of early modern Anglo Jews, recounts the story of two Armada prisoners under house arrest in the homes of John Naunton and Simon Borman, Catholic recusants responsible for the prisoners' behavior. While in London, the prisoners learned of the illicit trading activities of the *marrano* community. Upon their eventual release, Borman's Spanish wife dismissed them with this warning: "May you have a bad journey, and may the curse of God fall upon you if you reach Spain in safety and do not denounce Jeronimo Pardo and Bernaldo Luis [names of Anglo-Portuguese merchants], for they are traitors who have sold Spain." Indeed, upon their return home, one of these prisoners provided a detailed report to the Madrid Alcalde of the London black market operations occurring under cover of trade with Lisbon.²⁵

The ability for Jews to act as agents of foreign trade contributed to their official readmission in 1656. Cromwell's policy of religious toleration was due in large part to his aggressive New World agenda in which Jews were to be deployed to penetrate the markets of the Spanish American frontier.²⁶ I would suggest that the same trading practices Cromwell viewed as an asset were in fact seen as a threat to the Elizabethans who were quick to ascribe the Jew with the qualities of the greedy Spanish conquistador out of resentment and implicit

envy. It is no coincidence, for example, that Marlowe's Barabas—whose speech is sprinkled liberally with Spanish phrases—inhabits Malta, a highly contested site where the vectors of imperial expansion and global trade converge. In this light, the Elizabethan stage Jew's association with trade, wealth, and avarice transcends an inherited Medieval legacy of Jewish greed to betray an English anxiety over the nation's inability to compete with Spain's imperial lead in the expanding global economy. Usury, the stereotypical Jewish vice, must also be re-evaluated in this context. In his study of *The Merchant of Venice*, Walter Cohen explains that behind the cultural fear of usury lay “the transition to capitalism: the rise of banking; the increasing need for credit in industrial enterprise; and the growing threat of indebtedness facing both aristocratic landlords and, above all, independent producers, who could easily decline to working-class status.”²⁷ Moreover, usury was a necessary evil practiced by English Christians in order to fund overseas enterprises. In *Alarum Against Usurers*, a contemporary anti-usury pamphlet by Thomas Lodge, the author assumes an ambivalent stance towards usurers. On the one hand they “inrich themselves mightelye by others misfortunes,” but on the other hand, they “bring in store of wealth from forrein nations” to the benefit of the commonwealth.²⁸ It is in this Anglo-Spanish context that I wish to consider Pisaro, the central Jew of William Haughton's city comedy *Englishmen for My Money, or a Woman Will Have Her Will* (ca. 1598).

In Haughton's play an avaricious Portuguese merchant-usurer living in London attempts to marry his three daughters to rich foreign merchants: a Frenchman Delion, a Dutchman Vandalle, and an Italian Alvaro. The daughters, born of an English mother now deceased, prefer three prodigal English gentlemen suitors. The English boyfriends desire this arrangement as well, since their patrimonies have been absorbed by the money lender for their failure to repay loans received. The humor of the story turns on the successful elopement of the three daughters with their English lovers. Not only does each suitor regain his lost fortune, but, in winning a wife, he comes away with more than he risked, all at the expense of the usurious moneylender.

The Jewish element we come to expect in Renaissance usury plays seems at first conspicuously absent. The *dramatis personae* labels Pisaro simply as a “Portingale,” which is reason enough, explains one editor, for the audience not to like him: “his worst qualities are to a certain extent excused because he is Portuguese.”²⁹ Although the play

text never explicitly states it, Pisaro's "worst qualities"—greed, miserliness, authoritarianism, duplicity—are coded Jewish traits. Furthermore, while most commentators on the play don't speculate on Pisaro's religious identity, what is a Portuguese merchant usurer living in London if not a *marrano*? The play seems to treat him as a Crypto-Jew, for it is up to the audience to discover him through textual clues. For example, Pisaro's scheming is described as "Judas-like" (30). Perhaps the most revealing hint is the usurer's "snoute," able to "shaddow Powles [Cathedral] it is so great" (250–51). Later, he is referred to as "signor bottle-nose," an epithet applied to Marlowe's Barabas (1424). The play's main setting in the London neighborhood of Crutched Friars further reveals the mystery of Pisaro's closet identity, for not only was it the home of the playwright himself, but the headquarters of the Añes counting house. The importance of the Añes operation may have made Crutched Friars a natural magnet for other coreligionists connected to the family operation. Indeed, it may have been a Jewish neighborhood of sorts, since years later the traveler Richard Coryat reports meeting Jews in the Levant who could trace their origins back to this very same London neighborhood.³⁰

The play, then, not only affirms the implicit equation between Portuguese and Jewish identities, it also complicates the understanding of national identity by aligning the usurer with Spain. The dubious name of Pisaro alludes to Francisco Pizarro, the Spanish conqueror of Peru. That the playwright had an interest in Spain's New World expansion is clear from historical records that show him working on a collaborative play called *The Conquest of the West Indies*. The piece is not extant, and its precise subject is unknown. Conjectures as to the play's subject include the American exploits of Walter Raleigh or a history play based on Thomas Nicholas's translation of Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*. We need go no further than the opening lines of *Englishmen for My Money* to witness Houghton's investment in Spanish wealth. In this scene Pisaro muses on the progress of his in-bound cargo ships "All laden with the ample wealth of Spaine" (432).

How smugge this gray-eyed Morning seems to bee,
A pleasant sight; but yet more pleasure have I
To thinke upon this moystning Southwest Winde,
That drives my laded Shippes from fertile *Spaine*;
But come what will, no Winde can come amisse,
For two and thirty windees that rules the Seas,

And blowes about this ayerie Region;
Thirtie two shippes have I to equall them:
Whose wealthy fraughts doe make Pisaro rich:
Thus every Soyle to mee is naturall.

(1–10)

This speech resonates with similar speeches from the two other Jew plays of the same decade: the *Jew of Malta* opens with Barabas's counting house speech, and *The Merchant of Venice* has Shylock musing on Antonio's diverse overseas investments. In general, all three plays associate Jews not simply with mercantilism but with a notion of far flung foreign trade. In Pisaro's case, we must recall the Spanish embargo and therefore assume that his Spanish goods are contraband; but what is important here is not the illegality of the products themselves but the ability to acquire these products at all. Pisaro's wealth is an English fantasy of free trade with the Iberian Peninsula and the access to overseas markets that this link implies.

This imported wealth plays an important role in both the plot of the play and the construction of foreign Jewish identity. The profits from Pisaro's shipment are earmarked for the dowry of his daughters.³¹ Since the play is dedicated to foiling Pisaro's marriage plans by uniting his daughters with the three Englishmen instead of the three foreign suitors, the play supports profitable miscegenation with female Jewish others in much the same way as do the other two famous Jew plays of this period. Thus, it is crucial to understand how Iberian national identity, and its attendant connotations of global connectedness, functions differently from the other national identities represented in this play, since the representation of the Frenchman, Dutchman, and Italian can obscure the curious racialization of Pisaro and his daughters.

In his study of xenophobia on the Renaissance stage, A. J. Hoenselaars categorizes *Englishmen for My Money* with a group of anti-alien plays inspired by the massive influx of foreigners into the London marketplace at the close of the century. Hence, many of the laughs in this play revolve around poking fun at the three foreign suitors, and in particular their foreign accents. As Hoenselaars explains, the aping of foreign accents on stage mirrors the Babel-like confusion in the marketplace beyond the walls of the theater. Through parody and imitation, the anxieties of domestic economic competition are exorcised.³² The growing number of foreigners not only increased economic competition, but it also raised the possibility of miscegenation with others of foreign nations whose otherness is

expressed as a function of foreign vernaculars. As Pisaro's clownish servant explains, if the daughters were to marry with the three foreign suitors, their issue would be a "litter of languages" (347).

Oh the generation of Languages that our House will bring forth:
why every Bedd will have a propper speach to himselfe, and have the
Founders name written upon it in faire Cappital letters, *Heere lay*,
and so forth. (2345–48).

Significantly, the daughters reject their foreign suitors on linguistic grounds: "If needes you marry with an English Lasse, / Woe her in English, or sheele call you an Asse," explains one of the merchant's daughters (1125–26).

While Hoensellar's linguistic approach to the play is helpful for understanding the parodic representation of Delion, Vandalle, and Alvaro, it does not account for the representation of Pisaro. In a play that marks its foreigners with ridiculous accents, it is telling that Pisaro has none. Although Pisaro's perfect English does not insulate him from anti-alien prejudice, it nevertheless demands that he be understood in a different framework. Certainly, the merchant's fluency signifies a certain degree of integration. As the play itself suggests, to speak a foreign language perfectly is to speak like a "Naturall" (936). Pisaro's naturalization, however, is not explicitly attributed to his fluency, but to his economic success. We must return to Pisaro's opening speech where he explains that his sea-born wealth enables his easy denizenship: "Thus, every Soyle to me is *naturall*" (12, my emphasis). His wealth serves him as an international *passepartout*. Pisaro's explanation reads like the converse of Samuel Purchass's description of the Jews in exile: "Jews are strangeres where they dwell, and travellers where they reside."³³ Both descriptions point to the vexed identification of Crypto-Jews in England. That is to say, although *marranos* can be linked to a national identity, it is one that is not as easily apprehended as the identities of the other foreigners in this play. Pisaro's national identity is tempered by an implied religious affiliation that can only be articulated by a set of coded economic practices that in turn are linked to Spain as the prevailing Iberian identity. This complex characterization inflects the racial understanding of the merchant's daughters.

Like Jessica and Abigail, Jewish daughters prove eminently convertible. In this case, however, given that Jewishness is not openly thematized in the play, what is exchanged is nationality. In Mary

Janelle Metzgers's astute study of Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice*, she argues that Jessica's construction as the "fair" choice in the play distances her from her father, who is increasingly racialized, or darkened, by his association with Tubal and Chus, the Biblical founding fathers of Africa and the Jewish nation.³⁴ Jessica's marriage to Lorenzo demands that she nullify her filial attachment to Shylock by insisting that her manners take precedence over her paternal genetic inheritance. The daughters in Haughton's play make a similar rhetorical move. However, instead of distancing themselves from a religious identity or a colorized notion of race, they distance themselves from a national identity. As one daughter explains to her French suitor:

Though I am Portingale by the Fathers side,
And therefore should be lustfull, wanton, light;
Yet goodman Goosecap, I will let you know,
That I have so much *English* by the Mother,
That no bace slaving French shall make me stoope.
(1840–44)

Distinguished from both Abigail and Jessica, Pisaro's daughters are *already* of mixed ancestry. Their insistence on their maternal inheritance diffuses the anxiety normally expressed in English literature when confronted with the possibility of miscegenation. After all, Pisaro and his wife have apparently produced such patriotic daughters. Certainly the benefits of such a union is clear to the English gentleman whose fiscal solvency is entirely dependent upon their elopement with the three women. As the English suitor Walgrave explains to his fellow English hopefuls:

If you two ply it but as well as I,
Weele worke our landes out of Pisaro's Daughters:
And cansell all our bondes in their great Bellies.
(1920–22)

Presumably, the issue of miscegenation will not only result in the cancellation of debts and the reclamation of their lost lands, but also in their inheritance of Pisaro's trade links to the Iberian Peninsula. In a moment of unguarded nostalgia for his deceased English wife, Pisaro unwittingly voices the economic lesson of the play, "There's more in wedlocke, then the name can shew" (2284). Indeed, as the title of the play suggests, what the Englishmen really want are not wives but money. The positive portrayal of the three daughters, then,

encourages a carefully constructed notion of miscegenation—one that allows access to the trade advantages of the Crypto-Jew, but one that will not compromise English national identity. Historically, the *marrano* community in London must have presented such tantalizing possibilities to Englishmen.³⁵

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NOTES

¹ Edward I had officially expelled the Jews from England in an edict of 1290. Identifiable Jews in Tudor England were all foreigners.

² Although the Lopez-Shylock theory was made popular by Sidney Lee in “The Original of Shylock,” *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1880, 185–220, the idea was first suggested by Frederick Hawkins in “Shylock and Other Stage Jews,” *The Theatre* 1, November 1879. Later, Horace Furness observed what he thought to be a textual allusion to the public spectacle of Lopez’s execution in Gratiano’s court room ravings against Shylock:

Thy currish spirit
Governed a wolf, who——hanged for human slaughter—
Even from the gallows did his fell soul fleet,
And whilst thou layest in thy unhallowed dam
Infused itself in thee: for thy desires
Are wolfish, bloody, starved and ravenous.

The Merchant of Venice, ed. M. M. Mahoud (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 4.1.133–38. Given that “wolf” was capitalized in the quarto edition, what Furness perceived was a clever (or obscure) pun on proper names: “lupus” (Latin for wolf) evoked “Lopez,” which was alternatively spelled “Lopus” in the period.

³ As Joseph Shapiro explains, efforts to rewrite Jews into the history of Shakespeare’s England by prominent Anglo-Jewish historians like Lee and Lucien Wolf have fixed Lopez with an exclusively Jewish identity. Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1996), 173.

⁴ Robert Cecil, *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies of Late Time Detected to Have (by Barbarous Murders) Taken Away the Life of the Queens Excellent Majesty* (1594), E.S.T.C. S105447.

⁵ G. K. Hunter, “Elizabethans and Foreigners,” *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition: Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978), 27.

⁶ Hunter, 24.

⁷ See also Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995); and Ania Loomba, *Gender, Race and Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1989).

⁸ Lynda Boose. “‘The Getting of a Lawful Race’: Racial Discourse in Early Modern England and the Unrepresentable Black Woman,” in *Women, “Race,” and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Patricia Parker and Margo Hendricks (London: Routledge, 1994), 35–54.

⁹ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, 4.1.170.

¹⁰ See Avraham Oz, "Which Is the Merchant Here? And which the Jew?": Riddles of Identity in *The Merchant of Venice*," in *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions, The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress*, Tokyo, 1991, ed. Tetsuo Kishi, Roger Pringle, and Stanley Wells (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1991), 155–72.

¹¹ See also Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, vol. 2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906), 285–312.

¹² Etienne Balibar, "Is There a Neo-Racism?" in his *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, trans. Chris Turner (1988; reprint, London: Verso, 1991), 23.

¹³ Shapiro estimates the size of the Jewish community at about 200 members.

¹⁴ Gonsalvo Añes was in charge of securing Antonio with stores and ships for a planned attack on his native land. Alvaro Mendez, based in Constantinople, and Lopez's father-in law Dunstan Añes provided additional financial and political aid. See Wolf, "Jews in Elizabethan England," in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, 1924–1927, vol. 11 (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Co., 1928), 24.

¹⁵ David S. Katz, *Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 89.

¹⁶ The ambivalence of the situation is best expressed in the distribution of letters of mark (privateering licenses) in the 1580s. Not only did English pirates working under English letters of mark attack both Spanish and Portuguese ships, other Englishmen flew the flag of Dom Antonio with letters allowing them to attack only Spanish ships. When it came to political alliances, the English would fly any flag that would allow them to attack anything. See Pauline Croft, "English Commerce with Spain and the Armada War, 1558–1603," in *England, Spain and the Gran Armada, 1585–1604: Essays from the Anglo-Spanish Conferences London and Madrid 1988*, ed. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado and Simon Adams (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1991), 240.

¹⁷ Letter from Francis Walsingham to William Harborne, English ambassador to Turkey, reprinted in Wolf, 57.

¹⁸ For a detailed historical account of the Lopez conspiracy, see Martin Hume, *Treason and Plot* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1908).

¹⁹ C.S.P. Domestic, 462.

²⁰ George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercie* (1630), S.T.C. 4643, 173.

²¹ Carleton, 164.

²² See also John Gross, *Shylock: Four Hundred Years in the Life of a Legend* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1992), 14.

²³ Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1941), 140.

²⁴ Simon Adams, "The Outbreak of the Elizabethan Naval War Against the Spanish Empire: The Embargo of May 1585 and Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage," in *England, Spain and the Gran Armada*, 45.

²⁵ See Wolf.

²⁶ Roth, 158.

²⁷ Walter Cohen, "The Merchant of Venice and the Possibilities of Historical Criticism," *ELH* 49 (1982): 767–78.

²⁸ Thomas Lodge, *An Alarum Against Usurers* (1584), E.S.T.C. 16653.

²⁹ William Haughton, *Englishmen For My Money, or A Woman Will Have Her Will*, ed. Albert Croll Baugh. Hereafter cited parenthetically by line number.

³⁰ Roth, 144. This meeting is recorded in Coryat's entry in Samuel Purchass's *Purchass His Pilgrimes*.

³¹ Haughton seems to have borrowed from Shakespeare's Jew play. As in *The Merchant of Venice*, the off-stage fate of cargo ships in transit has a profound effect on the action of the play. When Antonio's ships are believed to have been lost at sea, his life is suddenly subject to the flesh bond with Shylock. This in turn precipitates Portia's heroic cross-dressing. The Christian victory at the end of the play is punctuated by the unexpected return of Antonio's argosies "richly come to harbor" (5.1.276). When in Haughton's play Pisaro's ships are believed to have been lost at sea, the usurer must consider marrying his daughters to the three Englishmen, since the rich foreign suitors expect a hefty dowry. However, when it is discovered that his ships have in fact returned safely, Pisaro once again rejects the Englishmen as potential sons-in-law.

³² A. J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama 1558–1642* (London: Associated Univ. Press, 1992).

³³ Shapiro, 174.

³⁴ Mary Janell Metzger, "'Now by My Hood, a Gentle and No Jew': Jessica, *The Merchant of Venice*, and the Discourse of Early Modern English Identity," *PMLA* 113 (1998): 52–63.

³⁵ The historical record provides us with examples of Englishmen who did intermarry with Iberians to the benefit of their economic status. In the pages of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Co., 1903–1905), for example, we get the story of Robert Tomson, an English Protestant who after a very unsuccessful sojourn in Mexico, made his fortune by marrying the daughter of a colonial merchant:

by the space of one yeere, it fortuneth that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard called John de la Barrera, that had beene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and silver, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine and by the way chanced to die, and gave all that hee had unto his onely daughter whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arrived at the Citie of Sivil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500 pounds in barres of golde and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodness of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour. (9:350)